The
Progressive Review
Nbr 278 Washington's Voice of Progressive Politics April 1989

Non-offensive Defense

Making the Military Safe for Humans

Dietrich Fischer & Alan H. Bloomgarden

For all the NATO talk about reducing arms, the real novelty is that East and West have agreed to go beyond mere force reductions to work together to improve common security in Europe. This is the focus of the Conventional Stability Talks between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

One new approach that is attracting growing attention in both East and West challenges long enshrined doctrines on how best to avoid war. It is called non-offensive defense.

Before World War I, the prevailing view was that the best way to avoid war was to be prepared to win it. The key to victory was seen to be quick and decisive action at the outset of a war to defeat the adversary's forces before they could be fully mobilized. Yet the four-year-long conflagration of World War I convinced many that avoiding war required a more conciliatory attitude. When British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain yielded to Hitler's demands in Munich in 1938, he probably thought he had learned the lessons of World War I. As we now know, the consequences were even worse.

Since World War II, the pendulum has swung back full cycle. Emphasizing the risks of appeasement, both NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization have vowed that they would react strongly to the first signs of aggression. The Soviet Union, attacked from the West three times in this century, has until recently espoused a doctrine of "strategic defense, tactical offense." NATO's concept of "follow-on forces attack" foresees the destruction of command posts and staging areas deep inside Eastern Europe in case of war on the central front.

By threatening strong retaliation and deliberate escalation, such strategies seek to deter intentional aggression. But they fail to prevent wars through accident or miscalculation. Remembering Munich, both sides seem to have forgotten the unexpected spark at Sarajevo that set off World War I.

Non-offensive defense is an approach that can avoid both types of war. By maintaining a strong defense, it can credibly resist the type of aggression with which World War II began. Yet by avoiding offensive operations into the territory of an opponent, it helps prevent the automatic escalation of fighting that led to World War I.

A few neutral countries adopted a non-offensive defense posture long ago, but the current debate over the approach originated in 1976 with the publication of three independent proposals in Germany, France and Austria. The common idea in each was to define a defense posture that enables a country to protect its security without posing a threat to others, thus improving common security.

For a country to convince an adversary that it has no offensive intentions, it is not enough to say so. That country must prove it through the struc-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ture of its military forces. It must deliberately reduce arms that can be used to invade enemy territory while maintaining or even strengthening arms that can be used only to resist aggression.

A shift to a non-offensive defense posture thus involves the sharp reduction or elimination of arms that are highly mobile or have a long range -- such as rockets, ground attack aircraft and tanks. Purely defensive arms -- such as anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons in fixed positions -- are retained or even strengthened.

The possession of offensive arms can invite an attack rather than deterring it. For example, President Nasser believed that a strong air force would make Egypt more secure. The result was the opposite. Israel was so terrified that when tensions rose in 1967, it felt it had no choice but to destroy Egypt's air force before it could be used against Israel.

Weapons in space, as envisaged under SDI, would be equally destabilizing. Whichever side were to strike first during a crisis would rapidly destroy the space weapons of the opponent. Pressure to strike first is a characteristic of an offensive rather than defensive weapons system.

Judging from history, non-offensive defense is an effective strategy to prevent war. Sweden and Switzerland, the only two countries in the world that have not suffered war since the time of Napoleon, both maintain a strong conventional defense but have the strict provision never to fight abroad.

It is often asserted that nuclear weapons have helped prevent war since 1945. But the five nuclear powers have been more involved in wars than almost any other country since then, whereas the countries that adopted a non-offensive defense posture have been able to avoid war altogether.

By going beyond reductions in offensive arms and adopting the principles of mutual non-offensive defense, the negotiators in Vienna have a chance to create a Europe-wide security that could make any war on that continent virtually impossible.

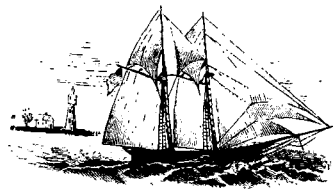
Copyright PNS

Dietrich Fischer is an associate professor at Pace University, a member of the Exploratory Project on the Conditions of Peace and co-author of the forthcoming "Winning Peace." Alan H. Bloomgarden, a Research Associate at the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies, is co-author of "Soviet Military Aircraft."

The Progressive Review

The Progressive Review is published approximately 9 times a year. Formerly the DC Gazette. One year subscription: $10. Two year subscription: $18. Single issue $1. The Review uses the news services of College Press Service, Pacific News Service and Hersay News Service. Editor: Sam Smith. ISSN 0889- 2202.

1739 Connecticut Ave NW
Washington DC 20009
202--232-5544



Topics

Sam Smith

Our first preppie president

The Bush administration was not even halfway into the mythical first hundred days when people began noticing that something was amiss. Not only was the president not doing anything, he wasn't even appointing people to do it for him. George Bush was forming his government and the policies that would guide it with all the alacrity of a college sophomore settling down to a term paper after an evening of marijuana. He did, to be sure, come up with a budget but it was presented without passion and received without belief. His strongest presidential positions were those in favor of John Tower, Emperor Hirohito and the untrammeled sale of assault weapons. Wherever George Bush was going he was in no hurry.

There had been early intimations of this unusual presidential languor. My office is just down the street from the headquarters of the transition team and one of the first changes I noticed in Washington following the election was a sudden appearance in my neighborhood of men in long dark overcoats and charcoal gray pants, men with the serious pale faces and scrubbed pinkish cheeks that reflect a dominance of Anglo-Saxon genes. I had seen them before in east coast cities, largely clustered around the financial and legal districts, but seldom in such quantity on a Washington street.

The Bush advance guard reminded me who the new president really was, why that look and that voice and that casual civility seemed so familiar. This was not the Reagan crowd, too busy making money to stay immaculate, too self-made to be self-effacing, and too ambitious to be gracious. The Bush team looked more like men of the military, except they had bought their uniforms at the University Shop rather than at Jimmy Muscatello's.

These were, like their leader, graduates of the Ivy, sub-ivy and prep school boot camps of the east coast, men secure in position and privilege about to enjoy the power to which -- they had been assured since childhood -- they were entitled.

Before the 20th century, the Ivy League was not a significant factor in presidential politics. Both the Adamses went to Harvard and Madison attended Princeton, but more than twice as many of the first 25 presidents didn't go to college at all, including Washington and Lincoln.

Teddy Roosevelt broke the long Ivy League drought. Yet like the Harvard, Princeton and Yale men who followed, TR was hardly a prototypical product of such schools. He was too eccentric, just as William Howard Taft was too fat, Woodrow Wilson too intellectual, FDR too radical, and Jack Kennedy too Irish. With Bush, America for the first time has a true preppie president.

As can be seen from this enumeration, the Ivy League has, until now, comported itself adequately while in the White House. Those who attended its schools may find in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this evidence of superiority, but an equally strong case can be made that the Ivys simply benefited from having the pick of the American litter. In any case, it should be noted that these earlier presidents actually graduated from their prep schools and colleges in mind as well as body. It was, for them, an experience they went through rather than a subculture they joined for life. By the time they they were grown men they were no longer preppies.

This is not always the case as any visit to a Ivy college or prep school reunion will reveal. There is a certain portion of educated Americans who, to the great glee of university development officers, graduate only in body, leaving their hearts and minds red shirted forevermore in the Class of Whenever. These are the men who, when old enough to receive social security, display a manner that first brings to mind events of a half century ago. The image these men project is so strong that it reflects back on their schools creating a stereotype that obscures the wealth of nerds, jocks, Nobel prize winners, machiavellians, artists, eccentrics, wife-beaters and murderers who also come off the Ivy League and prep school assembly line.

Thus it is with George Bush, as Gary Trudeau so brilliantly reminds us. But while this is obviously food for humor, it also, as they say in these parts, has important policy implications.

It is, for example, an identifying characteristic of the mature American preppie, that his ambition is one of position rather than of accomplishment. In the traditional habitat of such people, no one is so impolite as to ask what one actually does all day. It is enough to be associated with a good family, good schools and a good law firm or brokerage house. Accomplishment, by the standards of grubby non-preppy America, is actually suspect, for it threatens uncertainty, notoriety and controversy. For this reason alone many mature American preppies are Republicans, the country's most powerful institution dedicated to doing nothing.

Bush fits the pattern well. His resume is a resplendent pantheon of position signifying little. In fact, his defense of his vice presidency during the tumultuous days of Iran-Contra was essentially that he did nothing and therefore was beyond rebuke.

It is therefore not surprising that Bush, upon arriving at the pinnacle of position, seems uncertain what to do now. The models he might follow -- say, that of a chairman of the board of the old school, certainly wouldn't be expected to do much. They were meant simply to be, and by their dignity and probity to set a splendid example for all hands. There is a sense that Bush imagines himself chairman of the very fine old firm, America Inc.

Bush reflects preppie values in other ways. At the personal level, these are not of not insignificant worth. He is, as someone of his parent's generation might have said, a good Christian gentleman. He writes polite and considerate notes, he is thoughtful of his employees and the hoi polloi, he exhibits noblesse oblige and speaks comforting and noble words.

More bitter readers might wish to remind me of the recent campaign and some of the words that were spoken during that period. I myself had difficulties reconciling the apparent conflict between what has come to be known as the two George Bushes. But the business in Japan solved the conundrum. I had forgotten about squash and tennis.

According to the preppie paradigm the aggression and achievement so vigorously avoided in most of life, becomes admirable and even necessary when on a field of sport or battle.

This not merely an outlet for tension. There is real survival value, which is why sports are a major part of any decent prep school education and why the Battle of Trafalger was won by the British, if we are to believe Wellington. In order to protect one's position it is acceptable, in fact demanded, that one being ready to fight as hard and dirty as those who would take that position away.

Having done so successfully, one simply resumes the quiet business of holding on to one's position. No hard feelings, not towards your tennis opponent, not towards Michael Dukakis, not even towards the Emperor of Japan who spent considerable effort trying to kill you and your friends some years back.

There is one other Bush inconsistency upon which his educational background sheds some light. It appears to be true -- although medical science has yet to confirm it -- that the true preppie brain suffers from a neurological gap or short-circuit that prevents it from aggregating the Christian values it applies to individuals. Thus one homeless person is a worthy object of charity; millions of homeless have only themselves to blame. And so forth. We can expect this problem to manifest itself repeatedly in the next few years as we struggle to spread the bonhomie of Kennebunkport to the rest of the nation and the world.

The Coolidge Connection

Of course, the nice thing about having a fairly passive president -- aside from the fact that he probably won't start World War III -- is that we can always just ignore him. This seems a real comfort after eight years of preachments and hectoring. And it's been done before.

Calvin Coolidge was, like Bush, a man of personal honesty and dignity who was a national symbol of righteousness. He also, like Bush, took office from a president who had permitted outrageous abuses of high position. He undertook to restore national confidence in the federal government.

The high water mark of Coolidge activism, however, came before he was president when as governor of Massachusetts he scolded Samuel Gompers for the police strike in terms not unlike the recent utterings of Samuel Skinner on the Eastern Airlines strike. Yet even during this period, Coolidge demonstrated a capacity for non-doing, once offering the thought that government needed time to catch up with legislation.

But the truly interesting thing about Coolidge's presidency was that the American people essentially paid no attention to him, ignoring his values for a wide range of moral, financial and social excesses that would come to symbolize the 'roaring twenties.'

I will not push this analogy further, because it eventually ends with Herbert Hoover, Black Friday and a long depression. Still it's nice to know there is provenance for not paying attention to the man in the White House.

Handling sleaze

In the course of my ruminations over the late electoral disaster, I came across, in a used bookstore, a campaign biography of Richardson Dilworth who, with Joseph Clark, overthrew a 69-year-old massively corrupt Republican machine in Philadelphia in the late 1940s. Having begun my own political avocation stuffing envelopes in a Clark-Dilworth campaign, I bought the book and soon found myself absorbed in the politics of another time that was jarring in its contrasts with the Dukakis campaign.

Dilworth, like Dukakis, was a liberal but about there

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the similarities stopped. Although patrician in appearance, he was an ex-Marine with a quick temper and towny accent, who never ducked combat or met a lie with an equivocation. His most notable campaign technique was the street-corner rally, which he developed to a degree probably unequalled since in American politics. Using the city's only Democratic string band as the warm-up act, Dilworth would mount a sound truck and tick off the sins of the Republican administration. On one occasion he parked next to the mayor's home and told his listeners: "Over there across the street is a house of prostitution and numbers bank. And just a few doors further down on this side of the street is the district police station... The only reason the GOP district czars permit Bernard Samuel to stay on as Mayor is that he lets them do just as they please."

At first the crowds were small. But before long he was attracting hundreds at a shot with four or five appearances a night. One evening some 12,000 people jammed the streets to catch the man who would eventually become mayor.

His family joined in the fray. His wife once knocked an aggressive heckler off the platform with her handbag and his daughter, on her own, decided to picket the office of a GOP mayoral candidate demanding with her sign: "Mr. Longstreth: why won't you debate the issues with my father on TV?"

But it was Dilworth's reaction to liberal-bashing that raised the most striking contrast with contemporary advocates of the liberal cause. What the Republicans were saying about the ADA (of which Dilworth was an active member) was far worse than any of Bush's sneers at the ACLU. Essentially, the charge was that ADA was infested with communists.

The GOP city chairman, William Meade, called ADA communist-infiltrated and 'inside pink' where "Philadelphia members of that radical and destructive party [the Democratic Party] have gone underground and joined the Dilworth ranks."

Dilworth's initial reaction was to call Meade a "liar" and to challenge him to a debate. Said Dilworth: "The ADA acted and struck hard against communism while Mr. Meade and his gang created by their corruption the every conditions which breed communism."

But that wasn't enough for Dilworth. To make his point, he marched into the offices of the Republican City Committee and, brushing past the receptionist, barged into Meade's private office, where the chair was conversing with two city officials. Dilworth challenged Meade to name one communist in ADA. When Meade demurred, Dilworth said Meade had accused him of treason: "If you want to debate publicly, I'll go before any organization you name. I'll go before your ward leaders. I challenge you to produce evidence of a single Communist of communist sympathizer in ADA. I say this as one who fought for his country in the Marine Corps. That's more than you did, Mr. Meade."

"Maybe I wasn't physically fit," replied Meade.

After a few more exchanges, Dilworth left the room, having deflated the liberal-bashers and returned the focus of the campaign to corruption. And, unlike Dukakis, Dilworth won. --*Sam Smith*

A newspaper is not for just reporting the news as it is, but to make people mad enough to do something about it. -- *Mark Twain*.

Just Politics

SUNUNU: Surrounded by Kids

Vic Kamber, the labor consultant, says that the White House staff is the weakest and most inept in years: "Sununu has surrounded himself with a bunch of kids."

Democratic pollster Peter Hart thinks the Democrats blew their advantage with the gender gap last fall: "We sat tamely by while [the GOP] took the day care issue away from us, and not because they believed in it." And Democratic vice chair Lynn Cutler says that party's failure to attract and hold women's votes was "the biggest waste in politics I've seen in my life." Never again, she adds, should female Democrats allow a campaign to "walk in and walk over us on their way to failure."

Those who think blacks and hispanics could have turned the tide for the Democrats if they had just turn out as frequently as white voters should check the January/February issue of *Public Opinion*. According to *PO*'s analysis, if blacks and hispanics had turned out at rates ten percent higher than white voters, Dukakis still would have lost by nearly 2.6 million votes.

Well, here at last is the bright news: Bush is going to have a hard time using the Boston Harbor line next time he runs. In 1987 Congress authorized $100 million to improve water quality in the harbor, but in Bush's first budget the item was missing.

The People's Republic of Burlington, Vt., has a new mayor, Peter Clavelle of the Progressive Coalition. He will replace Bernie Sanders, the popular Socialist mayor of the town, who decided not to run for a fifth two-year term. Clavelle, who has been a close associate of Sanders, got 53% of the vote against Democrat Nancy Chioffi's 42%. The rest was split between the Greens and a tax revolte candidate

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Weather Report

Housing march being planned

A major march on Washington is being planned for next October 7. The idea for the march came out of a recent meeting of homeless activists, but the event will focus on a broad range of housing issues. Early meetings suggest that backing will come from a widespread coalition of groups, giving the potential that this will be one of the largest demonstrations Washington has seen in some time. *Info: Housing Now, 425 2nd St. NW, DC 20001 (202-347-2405)*

Green realos win in West Germany

The coalition-oriented wing of the Green Party won control of the party at a congress last month. The new leadership is talking about a possible alliance with the Social Democrats in the 1990 general election. In 1987, the party won 8.3% of the vote.

NOW rates 1988

The National Organization for Women Legal and Education Fund's annual review of women's issues has found, among others, these winners and losers in 1988:

Progress

- The Supreme Court's ruling on male-only club membership policies.
- Increasing number of favorable court rulings in discrimination lawsuits.
- The reinstatement of protection for women and minorities in institutions receiving federal funds.
- Protection of women under federal credit laws.

Setbacks

- The blockades at abortion clinics.
- The federal government's assault on *Roe vs. Wade.*
- Rejection of three state measures providing funds for poor women's abortions.
- Failure of the Congress to move on parental leave and child care legislation.

FAIR socks it to 'Nightline'

Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting has done a massive and long overdue analysis of Ted Koppel's *Nightline,* which confirms the rightwing bias of that popular interview show. Two graduate students at Boston College examined 865 programs through last spring, including nearly 2500 guests. The results are detailed in a 45 page study. Says FAIR:

"Stacked heavily in favor of government spokespersons, assorted 'experts' and journalists, *Nightline's* guest list reflects a profoundly elitist perspective of both domestic and foreign affairs. Overwhelmingly, it is white, male representatives of powerful institutions who interpret the world for *Nightline*'s viewers. Essentially absent from the guest list are representatives of civic organizations, popular social movement, minority communities and others who might challenge the status quo."

FAIR notes that there was only one program about class conflict, two dealing with gender issues, and eleven with race. In foreign affairs, FAIR quotes Koppel as saying that he was qualified, in some respects, to be Secretary of State "because part of the job is to sell American foreign policy, not only to Congress but to the American public."

Koppel, well-known in Washington as a Kissinger toady, rewarded his hero with 14 appearances, a record shared with Alexander Haig. Elliott Abrams and Jerry Falwell were not far behind. Not atypical of Koppel's political view was the show in which he paired John McLaughlin of the *National Review* with a "journalist of the left." The latter was Michael Kinsley of *The New Republic,* more accurately described as a journal of the extremist middle. You can get a copy of the full report, for which FAIR deserves a progressive Pulitzer, for $7. *FAIR, 130 West 25th St., NYC NY 10001 (212-633-6700).*

Labor wakes up from long nap

American labor, which has taken a severe beating during the Reagan years with surprisingly little protest or action, may be waking up again.

The machinists' union strike against Eastern airlines was a rare and welcomed case of labor entering the fray against the new breed of corporate clear-cutters. Among the obstacles the union was up against, however, were years of labor passivity as the corporate right convinced the American public that the national good depended on the economic retreat of organized workers.

In another hopeful sign, union leaders have begun talking seriously about organizing workers who are not members of a union. Such a plan could greatly increase union membership and labor's wavering clout in the economic wars. Under the plan, individual joiners would be entitled to union benefits such as health coverage.

On the other hand, top labor leaders were up to their old tricks as they struck a deal with the Bush administration to go along reluctantly with a two-tier minimum wage. This fraudulent proposal would leave much of America's unorganized workers at today's sub-subsistence minimum wage for the first six months of employment. In this era of

Notice

Classified ads are ten cents a word. Count your own words and send check or money order to the Progressive Review, 1739 Conn. Ave NW, DC 20009

PROGRESSIVE PERIODICALS DIRECTORY just published! Reviews/details on 600 periodicals -- peace, environment, labor, culture, international, organizing, etc. Networking, publicity, subscription information. $8. Box 120574, Nashville TN 37212

Become a supporting subscriber

Many small circulation alternative publications keep going with the help of supporting subscribers who contribute a sum in addition to their regular subscription to aid the publication in its work. You will note on your renewal form that there is such a category. We will be grateful if you will indicate your support of our efforts by subscribing with a contribution above the normal fee. Or you can renew right now by sending us your mailing label and a contribution. Mail to the Progressive Review, 1739 Connecticut Ave NW, DC 20009.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

euphemisms, this is being called a 'training wage,' although someone with 20 years experience might receive it and no actual training would be required. These workers would receive a minimum of $3.35 an hour, the current minimum which dates back to 1981 despite a 24% increase in the cost of living since then. Employers could simply fire workers after six months to avoid the second tier wage, which would still provide less than $10,000 a year to an employee.

The establishment of Civil and Religious Liberty was the Motive which induced me to the field [of battle]; the object is attained, and it now remains to be my earnest wish and prayer, that the Citizens of the United States would make a wise and virtuous use of the blessings placed before them. --George Washington, 1783.

A US Conference of Mayors report, based on information from 26 cities, says that 22% of homeless people held full or part-time jobs in 1987, up from 19% in 1986. The organization says it expects the figure for 1988 to be still higher, and even that number doesn't fully convey the housing problem in some cities like San Antonio, where more than half of the refugees hold jobs.

In a vote that marked a reversal from a decision three months earlier and a break with Roman Catholic leaders, Chicago's city council in December voted to ban discrimination against gays.

The California supreme court has rejected, by a vote of five to 2, an attempt by the GOP governor to restrict state-funded abortions and instead ordered full funding of an annual average of 80,000 poor women's abortions.

Housing Fact Sheet

- Prevalent estimates place the number of homeless Americans at 3 million.
- Families with children represent the fastest growing sector of the homeless population.
- A recently-released, Congressionally-funded study predicts that another nearly 19 million people will face the prospect of homelessness in America in the next 15 years.
- Since 1980, Budget Authority for all federal housing assistance programs has been cut by more than 75 percent—from 32 billion to $7.5 billion a year.
- At the start of Reagan's first term, the U.S. spent $7 on defense for every $1 spent on housing. Today, the ratio is $44 to $1.
- Only one-third of all American families who meet the government's own test of need are receiving federal housing subsidies.
- In 1983, nearly 10 million households occupied housing that did not meet minimum quality standards.
- From 1970-1985, the number of units with gross rents below $125 per month dropped from 15 million to 2 million.
- Nearly three-quarters of low income renters receive no housing subsidies.
- Sixteen million households pay more than 35 percent of its income for rent today. Eight million families pay more than 60 percent of its income for rent.
- In 1985, nearly 10 percent of all renter households (3 million) annually spent more than 70 percent of their living income for housing.
- Rent burdens among single female householders have skyrocketed from an average of 38 percent in 1974 to 58 percent in 1986.
- Housing needs are so great and housing assistance so scarce that families wait an average of 24 months for a Section 8 Certificate, with families in some cities facing a wait of nearly 30 years at the present rate.
- In the past eight years, federal support for low income housing programs has fallen 77 percent to less than $8 billion a year, while government subsidies for upper-income homeowners, in the form of mortgage tax-exemptions has grown to the $46 billion a year.

HOUSING NOW! 425 2nd Street NW • Washington DC 20001

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Field Notes

Global warming: Eighteen religious, political, consumer and environmental organizations have written to all members of Congress urging them to support the most effective, timely, and affordable solutions to global warming -- which do not include nuclear power. Among the programs the groups did endorse were energy efficiency and renewable energy. Last year, there were four comprehensive bills in Congress aimed at dealing with global warming. Three included large sums for research for a new generation of nuclear reactors that some believe would be safe. The other bill, introduced by Rep. Claudine Schneider, was in line with the recommendations of the 18 organizations. *Public Citizen, 215 Penna. Ave SE, DC 20003, 202-546-4996.*

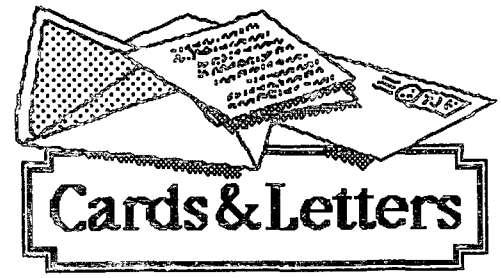
Government Accountability Project: Celebrating its fifth anniversary this month, GAP has provided support to numerous government whistleblowers, led the fight for a whistleblower's protection act, helped force the cancellation of two nearly completed nuclear power plants and exposed the government's failure to regulate properly the meat processing and feed industries. *GAP, 25 E St. NW #700, DC 20001.*

Sane/Freeze: After lengthy debate during a recent conference, Sane/Freeze decided to keep its name, adding a colon and the explanation, 'The Campaign for Global Security.' The organization had consulted a couple of advertising executives, which didn't sit too well with a number of delegates, in its search for a better name. Among the names rejected were Peace Action, Peace Works and Campaign for Peace and Justice. S/F also decided to add the funding of human needs to its priorities, which heretofore have concentrated on peace issues. *Sane/Freeze, 711 G SE, DC 20003*

Blueprint for the Environment: 18 environmental groups have presented the Bush administration with a 300-page agenda on environmental issues. Among the recommendations: raise EPA to cabinet status, reduce US carbon emissions by 20% by 2000, protect tropical forests, forgive debt from Third World nations to allow debt for nature swaps, a global summit meeting on the environment, an international treaty to protect biological diversity, a national energy plan aimed at boosting wind and solar power, and legislation to protect the national park system from adjoining development. *Blueprint for the Environment, 1400 16th St. NW, Washington DC 20036. Copy of report available for $13.95 from Howe Brothers, PO Box 6394, Salt Lake City, Utah 84106*

DC Rape Crisis Center: The center was 17 years old in February. It is the oldest continuously operating rape crisis center in the country, providing hotline and companion services, community education and advocacy work. *DC Rape Crisis Center, PO Box 21005, DC 20009.*

Nuclear mishaps: There were nearly 3000 mishaps and at least 430 emergency plant shutdowns at US commercial nuclear reactors in 1987 according to a new study by the Critical Mass Energy Project. According to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, over 104,000 nuclear workers received measurable doses of radiation -- a record. Some 96 million Americans live within 50 miles of a nuclear reactor. *Critical Mass, 215 Penna. Ave SE, DC 20003. 202-546-4996. Summaries of the report are available for $3 each.*



[Abortion and gun control], which you stigmatize as unpopular have, according to public opinions polls, the suport of the majority of the American people. Also, they are not issues which have stressed. Although we have not been disinterested in them, they have primarily been pressed by gun control groups and women's organizations. You surely cannot mean that, if liberals say nothing about abortion, we would be hearing less about it. The storng and noisy pro-life groups, even though they have only 25% support, will keep the issue very mcuh alive.

Your mention of furlough programs as something liberals have talked too much about really baffles me. I have been active in the liberal movement for over forty years, and it was only last year that I even heard about them. As you well know, the Massachusetts furlough program was established by Dukakis's Republican predecessor, and there was a furlough program in California under Governor Reagan. I find that, if presses, Republicans admit that Republican governors have supported furloughs, but take the narrow point that Mr. Horton should not have received one.

David Williams
Bethesda, Md.

These issues had to be addressed, to be sure, but they didn't have to be the major issues of the campaign. While it was the right that raised them, it was Dukakis, by not having better issues for the American voter to think about, who gave them their political power -- s.s.

One Percent for Peace: A new project, spearheaded by Ben & Jerry's Ice Cream, promoting the redirection of 1% of the Defense Department's budget to a positive peace agenda. Advisory Board members and endorsers include John Kenneth Galbraith, Gloria Steinem, Paul Winter and Joanne Woodward. *1% for Peace, PO Box 94, Brooktondale, NY 14817.*

Volunteers for Africa: Tecnica, which has sent over 600 technical and professional volunteers to Nicaragua to work at projects ranging from health care training to tractor mechanics, is now looking for similar volunteers for its Southern Africa project. Placements range from four weeks to six months. *Kim Porteus, Tecnica, 3253 Adeline St., Berkeley, CA 94703.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nuclear Attack and the Man-Made Environment: Engineers for Nuclear Disarmament has prepared a series of studies on the effects of nuclear attack on services upon which humans depend. The reports, at 10 pounds each, cover water services, transport and energy and buildings. *Engineers for Nuclear Disarmament, 1 Oatlands Park, Linlithgow, West Lothian, EH49 6AS, United Kingdom.*

Earth Day 20: Next year's celebration of Earth Day will come 20 years after the initial event that helped to spur national consciousness of ecological issues. A two-year series of programs and projects is planned, including a joint American-Russian-Chinese climb of Mt. Everest capped with a live TV broadcast from the summit.

Field Foundation: The *New York Times* recently reported that the Field Foundation is close to ending its 49 years of pioneering support of programs for children, minority groups and the poor. The move comes in the wake of declining investment income and the feeling that foundations should not perpetuate themselves as memorials. Among the groups Field has aided are the Food Research and Action Center, the Children's Defense Fund, the Center for Defense Information and the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. CDF's Marion Edelman told the *Times:* "I was setting out to speak on poor people's issues when nobody wanted to hear about hunger or educational deprivation in early childhood. As I grew, Field stayed with me and made a 2-year investment in children."

Whistleblower Legislation: At least two whistleblower protection bills are before this session of Congress, one to protect federal employees, the other to also cover corporate, state and local government employees. *Government Accountability Project, 202-347-0460.*

Jobs with Peace Campaign: This group is planning protests nationwide April 15-17 to highlight the misuse of tax dollars, over half of which go to the military. The events, which are part of the Build Homes Not Bombs Campaign, will demand that the government cut military spending and fund affordable housing and other human needs and that local and state governments use their powers to provide affordable housing. *Jobs with Peace, 76 summer St., Boston MA 02110. 617-338-5783.*

According to Australia's Earth Repair Action, the earth has lost more than half of its life-supporting forests since 1950.

Headline in the *Washington Times:* Economic Panel Expects to Accomplish Little.

If your personal cost of living seems to be outpacing official government statistics, don't feel too bad. For one thing, the criteria for the cost of living index have changed over the years. According to *Southern Libertarian Messenger,* one of the big accounting firms went back to the criteria used in the Gerald Ford period and found a 15% inflation rate compared to the 5% the Reagan administration was claiming. Irwin Kellner, top economist for Manufacturers Hanover Trust, tracked 36 items that make up about 60% of the typical household budget. Result: a 13.9% annual inflation rate between 1985 and 1987, again about three times as much as was officially claimed.

According to *Mother Jones,* Yuppies don't exist and never did. *MJ*'s Doug Foster confronted satirist Alcie Kahn with confirming evidence from a study by Gallup, and the reporter who coined the term broke down and said: "All right, all right. Don't go Mike Wallace on me. I'm ready to admit it. Yuppie doesn't exist. Yuppie was just a scam, a great career move to catapult *me* into the middle class. "According to Foster, less that five percent of the baby boom generation is upwardly mobile, white and professional averaging $51,000 a year. Foster believes Democrats can attract baby boomers with a politics focused "on standing up for the wage earner and fighting elite privilege."

A federal appeals court has upheld a school board plan in Indiana to randomly test high school athletes and cheerleaders for drug use. This was one of the first tests of the legality of searches for drugs in the heretofore private bodies of students.

After reading Tom Martin's discussion of the role of financial interests in the European Community, reader Howard Bluth came across this thought from Andre Malraux in *Man's Fate* (1934): "The state can no more play seriously against the banks than the banks against the state. They are accomplices in every way: a common personnel, common interests and psychology. A struggle between the department heads of the same firm -- by which, for that matter, the firm subsists. But poorly..."

The Progressive Review
1739 Connecticut Ave NW
Washington DC 20009-8922
ADDRESS CORRECTION REQUESTED

To Subscribe:
( ) One year $10
( ) Two years $18
( ) Contribution enclosed $_____
Mail with check or money order to address above

Subscriber Newsletter

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED